Mate-
237 rials which could well be made use of, such as skin, bone, and shell, are hardly used at all. Putnam claims that they are not used in his [189] area, although he writes that sometimes the Pygmies wear horn charms borrowed or stolen from the villagers. Virtually no use other than magical is made of bone, horn, or shell, as far as one can tell from reports from any part of the Ituri. Among the archers there are few of the skin quivers and bow covers mentioned by [252] Schebesta (1952, 124). Putnam (MS) further [262] states that he has never known these Pygmies to skin game; they cook and eat the skin as well as the flesh.

237 Schebesta (1952, 124), however, writes that 41 hide quivers are plentiful, particularly in the western part of the forest, less so among the archers in the east, where arrows are always carried in a bundle held in the left hand. Schebesta (1952, 124) also mentions the wrist protector, made of monkey skin, used by 237 archers. He makes other reference to the use of [291] skin as belts and for adornment and, occasion- [301] ally, the use of the skin of a Colobus monkey to cover the back, but he does not specify to which [184] Mbuti his remarks apply. We assume that, unless he specifies otherwise, he refers to the archers among whom he worked on his second trip.

[P. 165-B]

[P. 165-C]

Among Putnam's net hunters, a more frequent use of skin, of late, has been in the form of a sling for carrying babies, but this is still rare.

Clay and stone are likewise ignored as possible raw materials, nor are there any reports that the Mbuti worked metal at any time. Apart from an exceptional case among the net hunters, quoted by Schebesta (1933), such metal as they require for knife and ax blades, and for arrow and spearheads, they obtain already worked from the villagers.

If the villager supplies the handle as well as the triangular blade, Putnam (1948, 326) writes that the invariable method of hafting is to burn a hole through the wood to take the narrow end of the blade. If the blade alone is supplied, the Pygmy takes a thin sapling or a light branch, splits it, and, without removing the bark, lashes the blade in place with twine or rattan. If a Pygmy is using an ax up in a tree, he will always choose one of his own hafting, because it is lighter. Both men and women use these axes. Putnam (1948, 326) writes that they never use adzes, which are the chief tools of the village woodworkers.

[ARCHERS]

TECHNOLOGY

824 237 Archer technology uses only wood, fiber, and vegetable plants for raw material, with exceptional use of skin for quivers and baby slings, and fur for decoration of body and of the hunting bow.

372 Fire making is unknown, though the usage of fire itself is universal. Schebesta (1941) stresses its importance to the Mbuti, and says that embers are always carried about, even on the march. A new fire is lit by taking embers from an old one. Fire is further the only means of lighting, the wood *akata* giving the best light. [373] [416] When walking at night, the Mbuti always carry firebrands and light the path by scattering sparks in all directions. Fire is used, apart from purposes of cooking, giving warmth, and lighting, as the only adequate weapon against the black ants that not infrequently invade Mbuti camps in the middle of the night and force immediate withdrawal. Trilles (1932) and Le Roy (1897) both mention fire making by different techniques among the Pygmies in the then French Congo, but no reliable source has mentioned the practice of fire making among Ituri Pygmies. Many travelers and observers mention its absence.

411 [114] As confirmed by all explorers except Burrows (1898) who spoke of the Aka, the Mbuti use poison on their arrows (Schebesta, 1941). They never, however, put poison on arrows tipped

[P. 169-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

with metal points. Schebesta believes that a number of different poisons are used, apart from the poison described in detail by Parke (1891). The poisoned arrows are used against tree-dwelling animals, particularly monkeys, and hardly ever against antelopes or larger game. Schebesta contradicts, in the light of his own experience, Stanley's (1890) assertion that Mbuti hunt buffalo and elephant with poisoned arrows.

Mbuti use of antidotes is not known to Schebesta (1941, 65).

ECONOMIC LIFE

Hunting

Schebesta (1941, 86 ff.) describes the various hunting techniques used throughout the Ituri. The Efe among whom he did his most detailed work are primarily archers. They do not know the net hunt and seldom practice the communal beat (Efe: *begbe*). Schebesta (1941, 86) ranks the ambush as most important. This method of hunting is used by the older men no longer able to track game successfully. They lie in wait and imitate the call of the game, attracting it until it is within range of their iron-tipped arrows.

The daily hunt, however, is the track hunt

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171-B]

1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
[ARCHERS]
[P.170]
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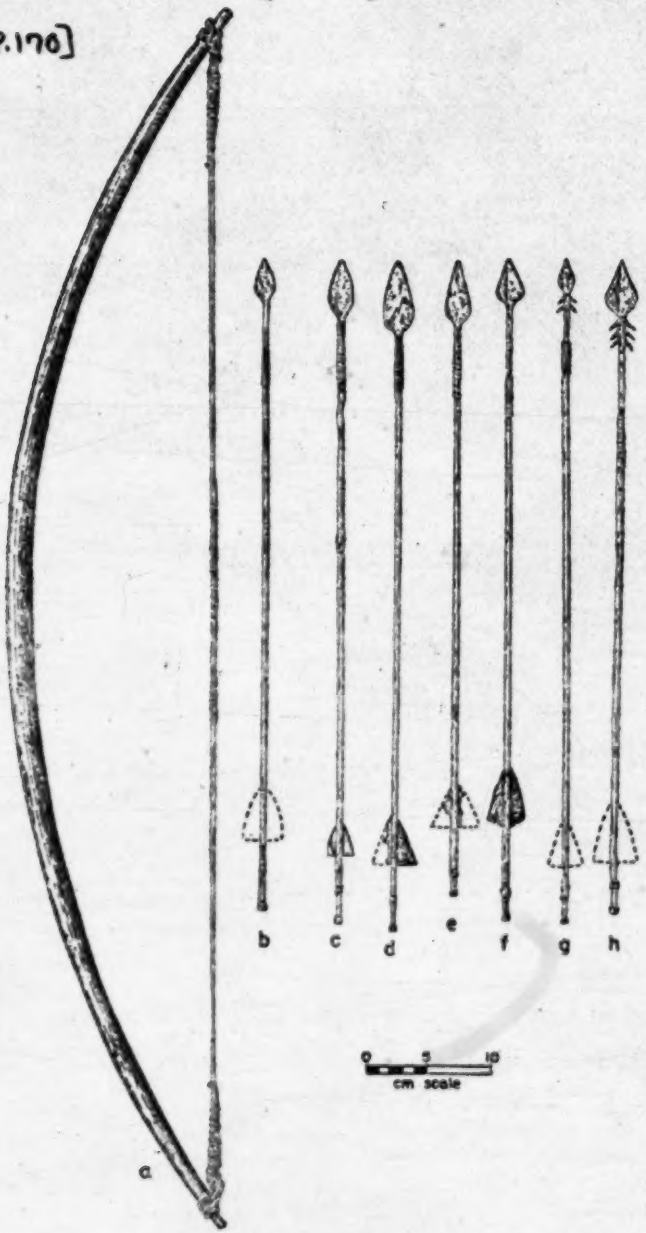

FIG. 6. Hunting equipment, archers, Kilo District, East Ituri. a. Bow. b–h. Arrows. These are typical of the eastern archers and similar to the bows and arrows of the neighboring Nyari villagers.

1: Turnbull E-4 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P.171-A]

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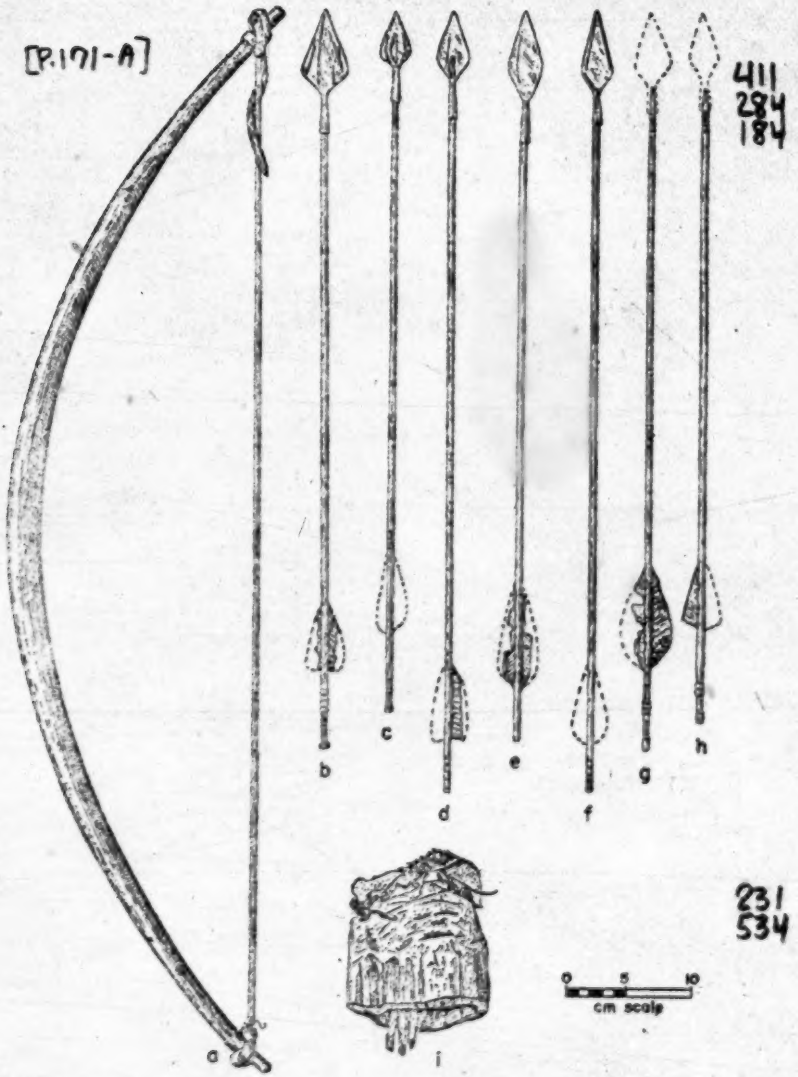

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FIG. 7. Hunting equipment of a western archer from Nduye District, Central Ituri. a. Bow. b–h. Arrows. i. Dog bell.

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P.172-A]

• 411

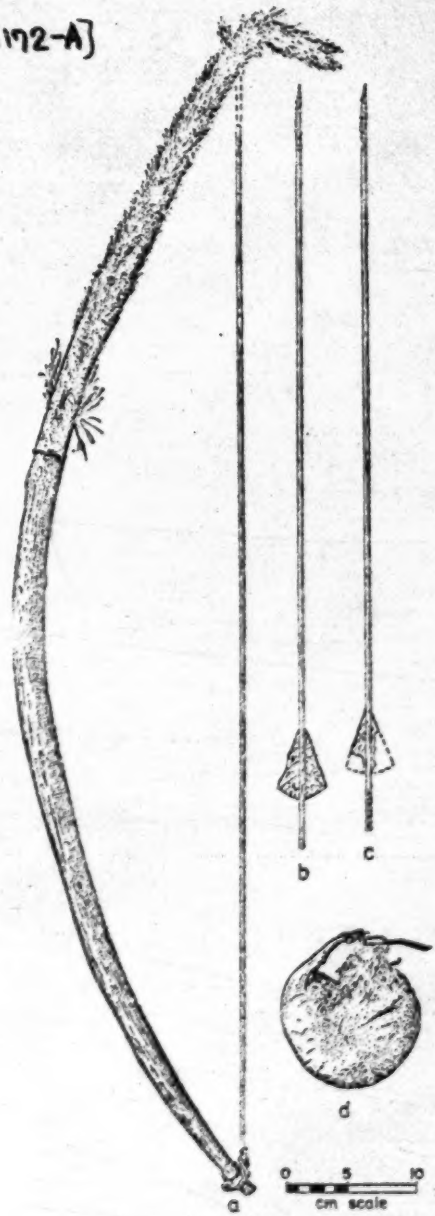

FIG. 8. Hunting equipment, archers, Oysha District, Central Ituri. a. Bow. b–c. Arrows. d. Wrist protector. Bows and arrows and wrist protectors of the archers seem, on the average, to be approximately 3 to 4 inches longer than those of the net hunters.

[184]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P. 173-A]

411
[237]

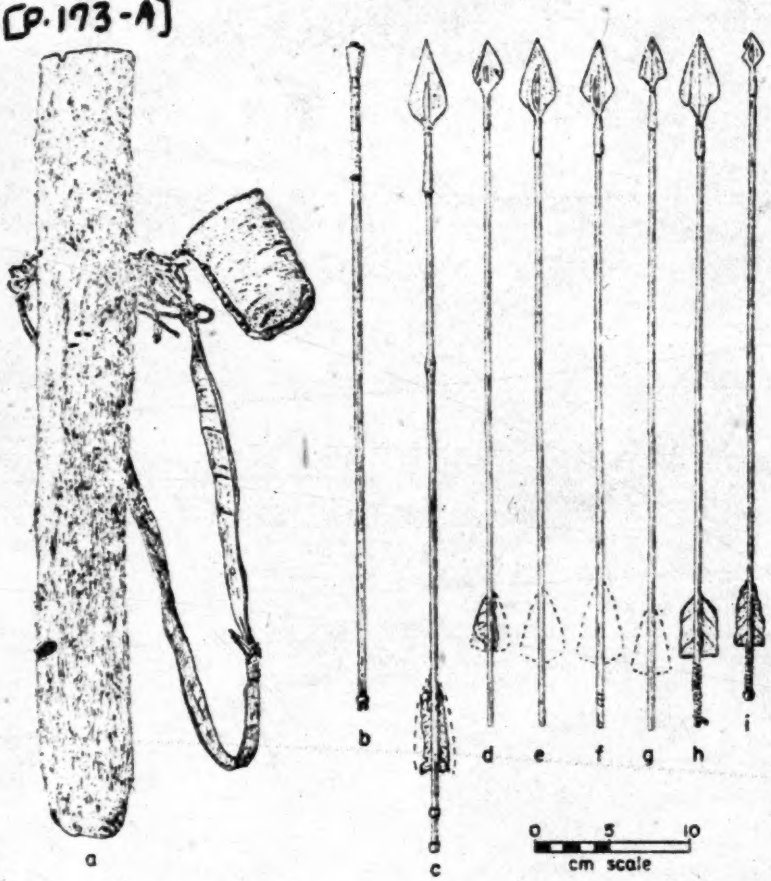

FIG. 9. Hunting equipment, archers, Central Ituri. a. Skin quiver. b–i. Arrows. Quivers are not generally carried by either archers or net hunters; by both groups the arrows are usually held in the left hand, together with the bow.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[ARCHERS]
[P.174-A]

B
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FIG. 10. Hunting equipment, archers, Central Ituri. a–b. Spear, of village origin and villager hafted; probably Bira. c. Spear, hafted by Mbuti. All blades for spears come from the villagers, though Mbuti frequently rehaft spear, ax, and adze blades, to suit their needs.

B
[197]
[134]

[NET HUNTERS]

TECHNOLOGY

392 Fire making is totally unknown, even as it is to some of the neighboring village tribes, according to Putnam. Glowing embers wrapped in phrynium leaves are carried everywhere, even on short journeys. They are also used, as described by Schebesta, for light at night and for [416] fighting off invading ants. Another form of [393] light (Fig. 31a), in the shape of resin torches [314] (KiBira: *kasuku*), is sometimes used, but at no time is wood specially cut (such as the *akata* mentioned by Schebesta) to make firebrand [252] torches. Campfires are always made the same way—three logs, their ends pointing to the center, where kindling is placed and where cinders form on which cooking is done.

• 411 Poison is used on untipped arrows, as described by Schebesta. These arrows are carefully protected by leaf covers until used. They are much more widely used than the metal-tipped arrows, largely, as the Mbuti admit themselves, because they are such poor shots.

Sometimes spearheads are also untipped, the wooden points being fire-hardened, but there is no evidence that these are poisoned, and they are becoming rare.

462 In none of the normal routine work in a [463] Pygmy camp such as that described by Putnam is there any specialization, except in so far as certain tasks are divided between men and women.

[P 201-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 204-C]

group occupies the center, with the important hunters from all three bands occupying the most central positions. Figure 16 gives the plan of the camp, showing the separation of these three "bands". In fact they are more likely segments of the same band in the process of fission. 224 621 628 554

Net hunters do not use bows and arrows (Figs. 37–39) to any appreciable extent, and they are poor archers. Putnam, in his travels throughout the forest, found few really good archers. He says that they shoot arrows with great rapidity, but that only one out of five may 224 411

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

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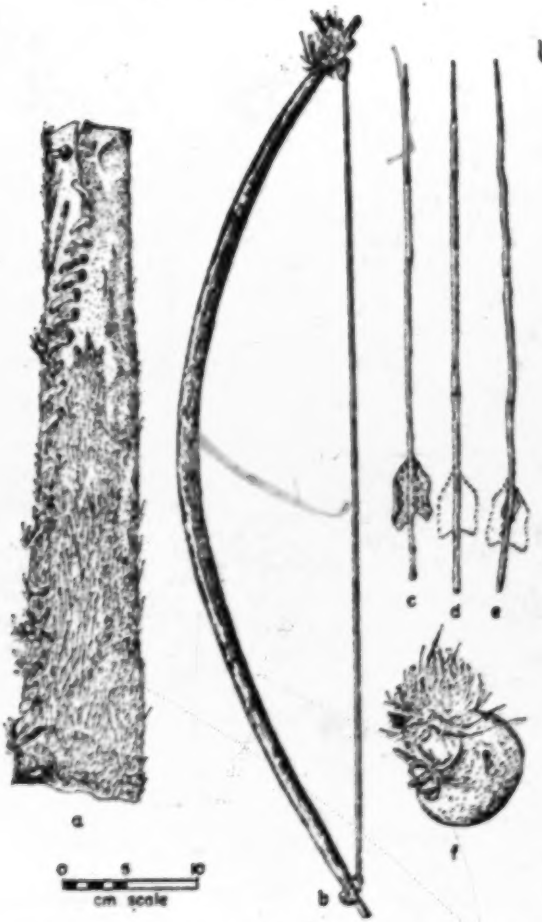

FIG. 37. Hunting equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Skin quiver, *baba*. b. Bow, *mangi*. c–e. Arrows, *api*. f. Wrist protector, *azuba*. The bows, arrows, and wrist protectors of the net hunters are notably shorter than those of the archers but are only of secondary importance in the food quest. The net hunters prefer poisoned arrows to those with metal tips (see Figs. 38–39).

[192]

[184]

[P 204-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.205-A]

224 hit the target. At tracking, however, the Mbuti
• 411 are excellent, being able to move swiftly and silently through the forest. They can, in Putnam's estimation, catch game with their hands, and often do so, as successfully as by using their bows and arrows. Iron-tipped arrows are used on larger game, and untipped, poisoned arrows
[278] are used mainly for monkeys and birds. The poison is prepared individually, strophanthus being the vital plant acting as a heart stimulant.
224 Hunting dogs are used both during the net hunt and by individual owners for hunting wild boar.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

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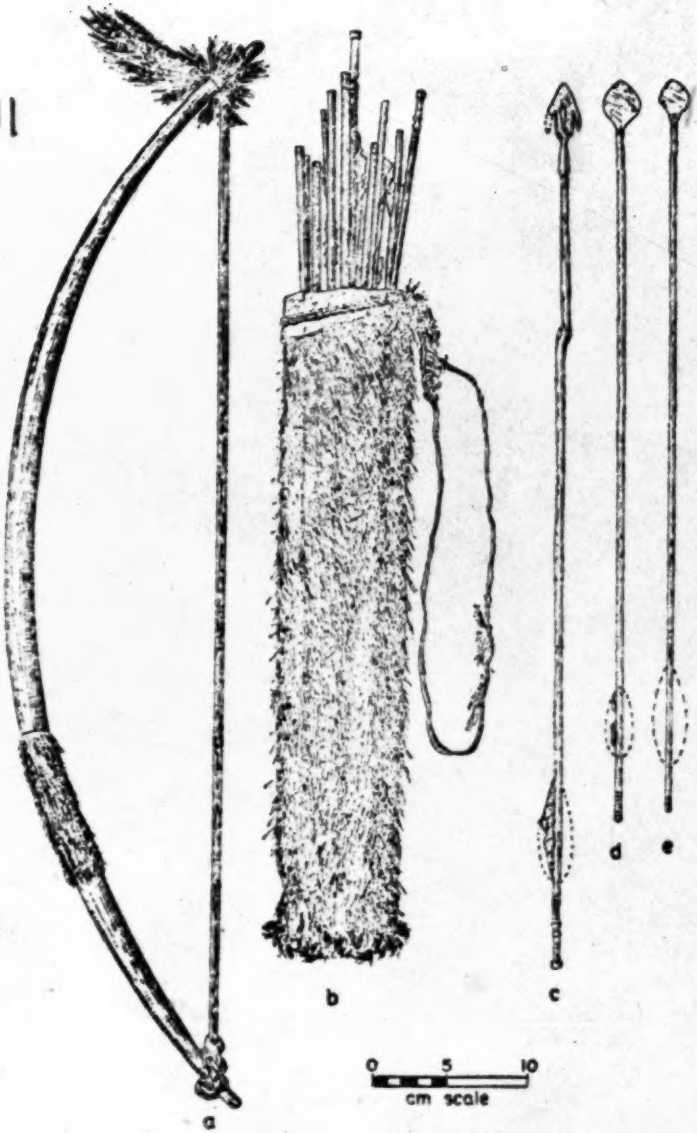

FIG. 38. Hunting equipment, net hunters. a. Bow, Epulu District, Central Ituri. b. Quiver, Central Ituri. c–e. Arrows, Central Ituri.

[P. 205 - C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 206-A]

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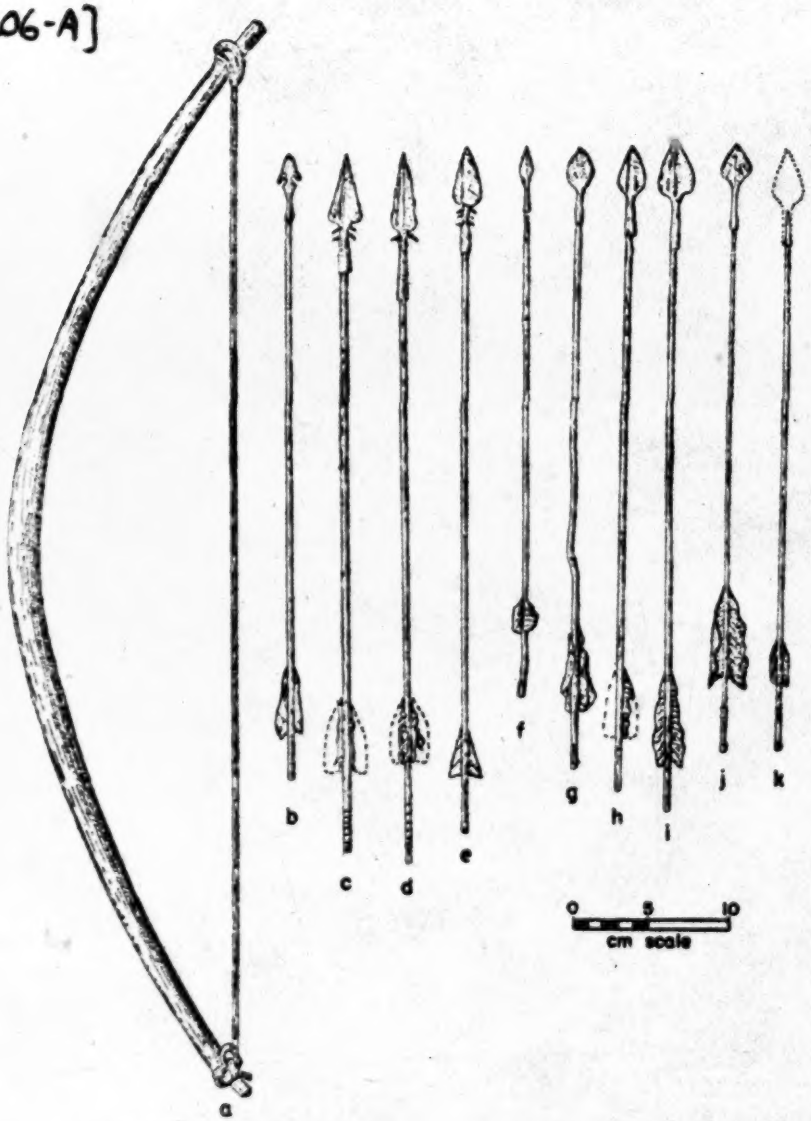

FIG. 39. Hunting equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Bow. b–k. Arrows.

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.207-C]

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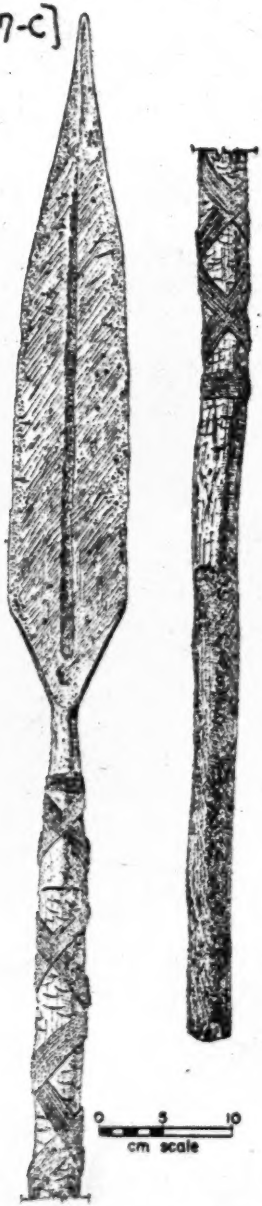

FIG. 40. Spear, *ekonga*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Used throughout the Ituri, except possibly in parts of the north, primarily as a weapon of defense and secondarily for the hunting of large game, including elephant. Mbuti hafting.

[184]

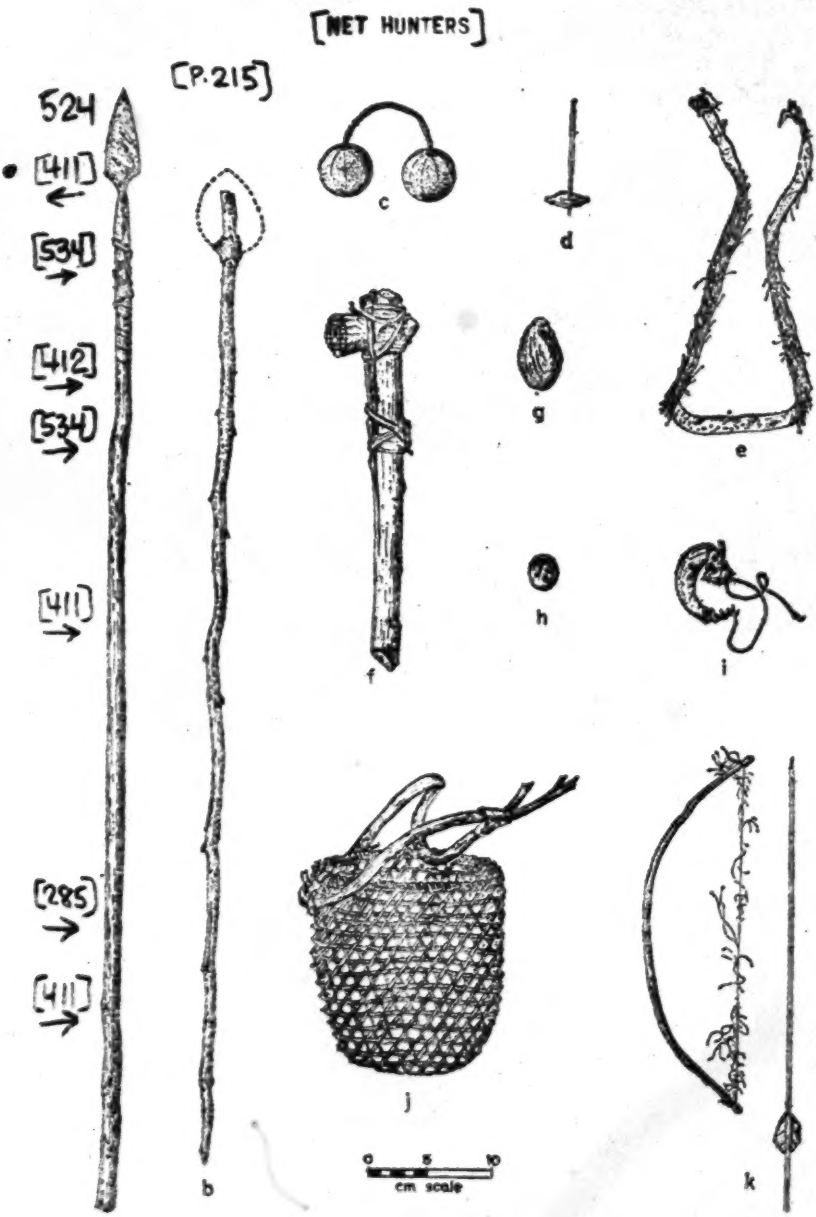

FIG. 45. Toys, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Spear, *ekonge*. b. Fire spear, *iswakamaboki*. c. Castanets, *kolokbenje*. d. Top, *tokiya*. e. Baby sling, *koko*. f. Bark beater, *kolea*. g–h. Seed whistles, *pho'u*. i. Wrist protector, *azuke*. j. Basket, *so*. k. Bow, *mange*, and arrow, *api*.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 217- C]

comparison with the *nkumbi* as described by Schebesta for the archers.

In the Epulu region the *nkumbi* takes place every three years. It is organized and conducted throughout by the villagers, who invite the Mbuti to take part. The first part of the year, from the dry season onward, is considered most suitable. On this particular occasion there were no village boys of the right age, but the villagers (Bira and Ndaka) went ahead with the arrangements as usual. The fact that only Pygmy boys were to be initiated made no difference to the celebrations, which were conducted in the village with full enthusiasm, bringing villagers from as far as 50 miles away. Villagers allowed themselves to be beaten with long sapling whips (Fig. 46) "to give strength" to the Mbuti candidates.

After a week of preliminary festivities, on the day of the first circumcision, the *makata* sticks (a set of eight or nine resonant sticks tuned to a specific scale) were cut and sounded. The *makata* are heard only during a period of initiation and are destroyed simultaneously with the initiation camp at the end of the festival. Villagers and Pygmies joined in a dance with the *makata*, while others went into the forest a short distance to make a clearing for the initiation camp.

[NET HUNTERS]

There is no record of any form of execution, though it has been known for the aged and infirm, too sick to care for themselves, or for those suspected of being possessed of supernatural powers, to disappear or to die of some strange sickness, under unusual circumstances. It was Putnam's opinion that such deaths might have been occasioned deliberately, but he had no means of verification.

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE

Exact Knowledge

COUNTING

Putnam mentions the use of finger signs in counting and the Mbuti habit of counting in pairs. Despite this simplicity, however, they are able to assess quantity accurately and speedily, as witnessed by their dexterity in their favorite gambling game in which beans are thrown onto a mat. The success of the throw depends on whether or not a combination of four results. The Pygmy knows at a glance whether he has to throw in an extra bean or slip one out in order to make the necessary adjustment. If there is disagreement, the beans are checked in pairs of pairs.

Medicine

Putnam frequently tried to copy the preparation of poisons used by the net hunters on

[P. 231 - D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

278 411 their arrows but seldom achieved the same effect. The ingredients were known to him, and he concluded some special skill was used in the actual preparation. There is no mention of antidotes to these poisons.

278 Putnam knew of the existence of effective medicine among the net hunters, but no details survive in the notes. Anne Putnam's notes, however, mention a number of cases in which she observed the use of indigenous medicines and treatment.

752 757 During a fight a boy was knocked unconscious by a blow from a piece of wood. He was immediately propped up; the main concern seemed to be to prevent him from lying flat on the ground. Even when semiconscious, the boy was not allowed to lie down. This possibility seemed to frighten the Pygmies more than anything else, and for a while no other treatment was given. Then some incisions were made on his chest, and a leaf was applied.

757 Against toothache a certain leaf (not identified) is chopped fine and mixed with water. This mixture is poured from a leaf cup down each nostril.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

182 With regard to material culture and tech-
184 nology, there is far more uniformity than divergence. The technology of the net hunters demonstrates a greater adaptation to the forest environment, and their material culture is consistent with the fact that they are more truly
[482] nomadic than the archers. Heavy objects such as the mortars and drums mentioned by Schebesta could not be maintained by a nomadic band unless it was always within easy reach of the village.

ECONOMIC LIFE

224 In a comparison of the two major types of
184 hunt, according to which we classify the Mbuti into archers and net hunters, three factors in particular are worth noting:

1. The net hunt, of all the hunting methods described (including the *begbe* beat of the archers), produces both the surest and the largest supply of meat. The inadequacy of archery
[411] among the Mbuti, owing partly to inaccuracy
[177] with their small bows and partly to the gen-
[439] erally poor visibility, may account in part for the greater economic dependence of the archer bands on their villager neighbors.

2. The net hunt is essentially a cooperative
224 activity, requiring the participation of the band
48 as a whole, including women and children. It
62 reinforces the strength of the band as such; it
562 does not differentiate between the relationships
184 of the men and the women toward the forest; and it establishes for each sex a basic and

[R 244-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

PLATE 35 3/A

NET HUNTING, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

224 a. The kill. When an animal falls into the nets, nearby men and youths run to catch it before it tears itself loose or damages the net. As the men disentangle the trapped animal, a youth stands by with a spear ready to make the kill. Even the smallest antelope, when trapped, can be dangerous. Although the hunt is vital to the food economy of the Mbuti, they take no pleasure in the kill. It is considered a crime to hunt or kill more game than is essential for sustenance.

• 411 [177] b. The main weapon of the archers, the bow and arrow, is for the net hunters only an incidental means of obtaining food. The net hunters prefer their own poisoned arrows with a fire-hardened tip (as used here) rather than the unpoisoned metal tips supplied and used by the villagers.

3/A. /Plate 35 appears on page 303--Analyst/

[P. 302]

1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

• 411

[NET HUNTERS]

/Plate 35-B/

/Caption appears on p.302/

[P. 303-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

PLATE 37 1/1

Musical Bow, Epulu District, Central Ituri

534 533 411 [516]

Mbuti music is almost entirely vocal, the voice being accompanied by wooden clappers. The musical bow is used sometimes to accompany the telling of legends or simply for personal amusement. As here, it is most often simply the hunting bow, tapped with an arrow, the mouth acting as a resonator.

1/1, /Plate 37 appears on page 307--Analyst/

[P. 306]

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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302

/Plate 37/

[illegible] /Caption appears on p. 306/

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

out of that vicinity, however, they keep track of it, and they send out scouts to help them decide the best location for their next hunting camp.

Insofar as the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers for village foods, thus far are they dependent also for certain items of material culture, in metal, pottery and wood. Even so, of the village foods only rice and beans (neither of which can be considered as staples even among the villagers) demand pottery or metal cooking vessels. Trade vessels of aluminum are rapidly replacing all pottery vessels. Manioc, plantains, corn and peanuts can be roasted, the sweet banana and peanut can be eaten raw, and manioc can also be eaten without cooking if it is first soaked in cold water for several days.

However, in every Mbuti village camp each household will boast at least one metal vessel, and there will be one or two wooden mortars and pestles for common usage. In addition, there is only the metal knife blade which might be said to be necessary to the Mbuti in their village life, for peeling, scraping and cutting the manioc root, and the metal ax blade needed for cutting the saplings used in the construction of either village-type houses or forest-style huts. The technological dependence of the Mbuti upon the villagers, in the village, is then not great, and is directly contingent upon Mbuti dependence upon village foods in the same context.

We shall see that in the forest context, as with food, there is no essential dependence either on materials such as metal, or on skill in working them. It has been argued that the Mbuti hunt is dependent upon metal arrow-points, spear blades, and knife blades. It is not. We shall see that the Mbuti frequently prefer to use the poisoned arrows that have only a fire-hardened tip, for sound practical reasons; that they use the spear primarily for defense rather than offense, and in any case still retain knowledge of the fire-hardened point and the belief that it is as effective as metal except, possibly, against buffalo and elephant. Old Mbuti assert that fire-hardened spears are effective even against the largest game. Slit bamboo and slit reeds offer adequate cutting surfaces, though they dull quickly and are seldom used today; they could, however, successfully replace the metal knife as far as the forest life of the Mbuti is concerned. There are certain types of vine that have a highly abrasive surface and can be used for scraping *itaba* roots. Of all the village utensils, the two that the Mbuti would miss the most would be the machete and the ax blade. The machete is used for cutting the light *fito* saplings that form the framework for

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

become spirits, but there is no evidence of the old or crippled actually being treated with anything but a care and respect that, judging from appearances, derives more from affection and a sense of responsibility (not unmixed with a certain amount of rare forethought) rather than from fear.

HUNTING TECHNIQUES

The iron tools available to the Mbuti since the inception of their relationship with the village tribes have not, apparently, tempted them to develop their hunting technology. They do not dig pits or make traps, nor do they erect spear-falls, techniques employed by the villagers. To make their traditional technology more efficient, however, the Mbuti do use iron blades for their spears, axes, knives and arrow blades. The spear blade makes the hunting of elephants much easier, though old Mbuti assert that they used to kill elephants with fire-hardened wooden spears. The knives and machetes undoubtedly make the cutting of leaves, saplings and vines much quicker and easier, and the honey ax affords simple access to beehives deep within hollow branches or tree trunks. The arrow tip is used more by the archers than by the net-hunters, it seems, but both groups rely primarily on poisoned arrows. The bows of neither group are large or efficient, accuracy is made doubly difficult by the limited vision of the forest environment, and hunters often aim at a sound or a movement of leaves rather than by sight of the actual quarry. With the poisoned arrow even a light graze will bring down the quarry, whereas with the metal-tipped arrow direct impact on a vital spot is essential. Even so, so chancy is Mbuti archery that throughout the forest the practice is to hold a handful of arrows in the hand that holds the bow; this enables them to be drawn and fired with remarkable rapidity. Naturally many are lost, but the loss of a poisoned arrow is of far less economic significance than the loss of a metal tip.

Traditional hunting techniques include archery, net-hunting and spear hunting, and occasional snaring (usually by youths, sometimes by old men). Nets vary in length from one to three hundred feet, and are about four feet in height. Seven small nets, together with beaters, might form a circle of over one hundred yards in diameter. Any area smaller than this would be impractical, as the game would be scared away before the nets could be set up and the beaters get in place. Even seven nets of average length would only form a circle barely two hun-

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 Mbuti

[P.276-F]

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[184]

32. Masisi stops on his way to the hunt to try for a monkey in the treetops. For net-hunters the bow and arrow is only an incidental means of food-getting. As seen here, poisoned arrows are preferred to those with metal tips provided by the villagers.

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[882]

33. Two youths, armed with spears, carry their fathers' hunting nets. They will not have nets of their own until they are married but may, on occasion, take the place of their fathers on the hunt.

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

hunting but also working on plantations, cutting wood and drawing water. None of this was true of the Pygmies that I knew. But I did agree with Schebesta about the *molimo* (a religious festival). Although he had not seen it himself, from what he heard about it and about similar practices among other groups of Pygmies, he felt sure that it was essentially different from the practices of neighboring Negroes, however similar they might appear to be on the surface. This certainly tallied with my own experience.

The general picture that emerged from his studies was that there were, living in the Ituri Forest, some 35,000 BaMbuti Pygmies, divided into three linguistic groups, speaking dialects of three major Negro languages. The Pygmies seemed to have lost their own language, due to the process of acculturation though traces remained, especially in tonal pattern. Only in the easternmost group did Schebesta feel that the language had survived to any recognizable extent. These were the Efe Pygmies who lived among the BaLese, an eastern Sudanic tribe with a not very savory reputation for cannibalism, witchcraft and sorcery.

But in spite of this linguistic difference, and the fact that the Efe also differed in that they did not hunt with nets but with bow and arrow and spear, Schebesta believed that all the BaMbuti were a single cultural unit. They tended to live in small groups of from three families upward, moving around the forest from camp to camp, though always attached to some Negro village with which they traded meat for plantation products. There was no form of chieftainship, and no mechanism for maintaining law and order, and it was difficult—from Schebesta's account—to see what prevented these isolated groups from falling into complete chaos. The most powerful unifying factor, it appeared, was the domination of the Pygmies by the Negroes. Schebesta cited the *nkumbi* initiation as an example of the way Negroes forced the BaMbuti to accept their authority and that of their tribal lore. Remembering what I had seen, living in an

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

Masisi hunts birds and monkeys. The wooden point of his arrow is tipped with poison.

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[R 72-C]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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Kenge uses a hunting bow as a musical instrument.
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more than a hundred feet up. "That is where it sleeps," he said. "It is safe there. It sleeps there until it is needed."

I asked when it was needed, but Maipe had said all he was going to say. He looked up at the tree for a last time, then motioned with his head that we should be on our way. Kenge whispered to me that when we got back he would ask Moke to tell me more. It was better for old men to talk about these things.

That same night, just before the singing started, Moke was sitting outside his hut, whittling away at a new bow he was making, and talking to himself because there was nobody else for him to talk to. Kenge had spoken to him when we got back to the camp at dusk, but I did not expect anything to come of it, and Kenge had said nothing to me. Moke looked up and stared in my direction, then he looked back at his bow and continued whittling away with a rough stone. But he spoke a little louder, so that I would hear.

"Ebamunyama," he said, using the name I had been given, "*pi-ka'i to.*" ("Come here.")

He spoke as if he was addressing the bow, and when I got to him he still did not look up but just told me to sit down. Talking to the bow in his soft old voice, he said that he had been told I was asking about the molimo, and that this was a good thing and he would tell me whatever he could.

He went on to tell that the Pygmies call out their molimo whenever things seem to be going wrong. "It may be that the hunting is bad," he said, "or that someone is ill, or, as now, that someone has died. These are not good things, and we like things to be good. So we call out the molimo and it makes them good, as they should be."

Kind, quiet old Moke, all alone and without a wife to look after him, still working away at his bow, occasionally looking along the shank to make sure he was keeping the line true—he told me many things that evening. But, most important, he told me, or rather

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the first of Ekianga's huts, the largest and the best, built by himself and Kamaikan. Amabosu was sitting down at his fire at the time, and his wife was sitting near him, peeling mushrooms for the evening meal. Ekianga was inside the hut with Kamaikan, who had given the baby to her old mother, Sau, to look after for a few hours. At first Amabosu's remarks brought no response from the closed hut. But he became more and more explicit, denouncing Ekianga's shame in considerable and intimate detail, hinting that what was going on inside the hut at that moment was precisely what every new mother should avoid if she was to be able to look after the baby properly and give it lots of milk.

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At last Ekianga retorted angrily from inside the hut. Amabosu continued to sit quietly, staring into the fire, with his wide, strange eyes. He answered in as caustic tones as he could find. In the end, Ekianga's door burst open and Ekianga appeared, spear in hand. He looked wild with fury and shame, and he flexed his muscles and hurled the spear at Amabosu with all his might. Amabosu looked up from the fire for the first time, but sat perfectly still with not a flicker of emotion on his face, his eyes still wide and cold and staring. The spear struck the ground within twelve inches of his feet, which was probably exactly where it had been intended to land. Amabosu calmly rose, pulled the spear free, and tossed it behind his hut into the rubbish dump. This was just about as insulting a gesture as he could have made at that moment, and it started one of the most dramatic fights I have seen in a Pygmy camp, and one of the most complicated.

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As long as it was between the two men all was well, but the wives were torn between their loyalties as wives and as sisters. Amabosu's wife entered the fray by swearing at her husband for throwing her brother's spear into the rubbish dump. Amabosu countered by smacking her firmly across the face. Normally Ekianga would have approved of such manly assertion of authority over a disloyal wife, but as

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outside their hut to sing, they were carefully guarded by their mothers and older sisters. But the girls and their attendants cast sly glances at the young men who always drew close to watch and listen. They whispered and laughed among themselves, and when they stood up to dance they often made it very clear by their gestures which boy had taken their fancy. Sometimes they chose at random simply to annoy a special lover, and boys often stalked away in a huff. That was a mistake.

At any time of the day the girls were likely to emerge from the elima house armed with long fito whips. If you were close enough you could hear them plotting their strategy behind the door, but there was no escape once they burst out into the open. Any males, young or old, and particularly those who had shown annoyance at being teased, were liable to be chased and whipped by the eager young furies.

I myself was chased once, for a good half-mile down a forest trail, running as fast as I could. It was considered cowardly to run, but I ran with good reason, for to be whipped establishes an obligation to visit your assailant in the elima house. Once inside there is no need to do anything further, but you are subject to considerable attention if you refuse. And to get into the house, in the first place, requires no small amount of courage and strength. So I ran. Most other bachelors had less reason and no desire to escape, so they contented themselves with giving as good as they got, throwing sticks and stones at the girls, running around the village, dodging behind houses and through fields of sugar cane. The battles never lasted long, but sometimes they came to an abrupt end.

The girls often whipped old men or young boys, and in either case it was generally considered a compliment and did not carry the same obligations that it would have done had they been eligible bachelors. But sometimes they hit too hard, and the old men resented this and shouted, while the boys simply screamed their heads off.

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others in almost total darkness. It must have been quite an old camp, for all the leaves on the huts were dry and brown.

We crept right up to the nearest hut without being seen, and then Kidaya ran lightly across the clearing and gave the sleeping youth of her choice a sound thwack with her whip. He leaped up, not so much in fear or anger as in surprise and in shame that he should have been caught. He grabbed for his bow and picked up a small stone which he fired back at Kidaya as he ran away. Kidaya laughed with delight. This was a sure sign that her overtures had been accepted.

The whole of the camp was awake before the rest of the girls had had time to whip more than a few boys, and it soon became alive with lashing whips and flying sticks and stones. The women and children crept into the backs of their huts for shelter, while the men ran from rubbish dump to rubbish dump, gathering the banana skins they used as ammunition. When they could not find any, they used whatever came to hand. A slice of banana skin fired from a taut bow at close quarters can be quite painful, and the girls found that the boys were putting up a good fight. So they picked up a few vine baskets that had been left lying around, and using these as shields they advanced on their quarry.

The fight got more and more fierce, and at one time the boys managed to drive the girls right back into the huts. Then they stood at the entrances and fired their pellets of banana skin inside, giving rise to squeals of anguish. But Kidaya was too tough to be done down so easily. She emerged from her shelter without even a basket for protection, and made a dash for the nearest fire. As she bent down to pick up a burning log, her particular boy friend fired a pellet that struck her on her buttocks with a smack. Kidaya spun around and hurled the log with all her might; then she rubbed her backside affectionately and smiled. The other girls also began throwing logs, and soon there was hardly a fire left in the camp, and burning logs were scattered everywhere.

224 rows in rapid sequence in the antelope's direction, and probably but one will hit him. The pygmy can do just as well by leaping on the animal barehanded, and either strangle it or kill it with a knife, and he often does this.

224 411 In his quiver the pygmy usually carries two kinds of arrows, the first with iron tips, which he generally uses on the larger, antelope-size, animals, and wooden-tipped ones which are poisoned, and which he uses for monkeys. He rarely shoots a monkey with an iron-tipped arrow, through fear of losing it. Each man makes his own poison as well as his own darts. The [824] plants from which the poison is made are well known, and there is neither [137] ritual nor mystery attached to the process. The vital plant is a strophanthus; they will mix other plants with it, but they know which one does the trick.

The strophanthus poison is a heart stimulant. Its action is not immediate. The monkey runs along a bit, grows weaker, and urinates. The pygmies watch for this, for the moment of 224 urinating is the fatal one. If the monkey is out on a limb where there are no other branches, he will fall off; if he is within reach of a lateral branch or one rising upward, he will clutch it, and the hunter will be obliged to climb the tree if he wants the monkey. To do this he uses the technique described under pygmy locomotion. Since the monkeys are usually high in the trees and the pygmies are such poor marksmen, they undoubtedly miss more of them than they hit.

Elephant hunting.—Pygmy elephant hunting involves a technique that is wholly different from either of the above two. The pygmy elephant hunter is a specialist; not every pygmy has the courage to face a [illegible]ephant and kill it, and not every man [illegible] skill. Whether or not pygmies ever killed elephants [177] in the early days, the present form of

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Z 237 439 435 177 [567] ing a double profit. Slavery, therefore, was a by-product of these raids, and not the primary objective, which was to obtain ivory. When the white men came in, they said to the Negroes, "Why deal with these Arab slavers? Sell your ivory to us, and we will leave you alone." Thus, ivory became an important item to the Negroes, and the more they could get of it the better.

P 224 177 439 Z 439 563 The pygmy could never, by himself, kill enough elephants to stop them from trampling his host's gardens. He could, however, kill enough to swell his host's supply of ivory and increase his host's capital. So a pygmy who was an elephant hunter became a special favorite of his Negro host and would get special gifts and favors in return for the ivory.

• P 411 Z [325] The pygmy elephant hunter uses a special spear. Its handle is three to four feet long; its blade is leaf-shaped, of thin iron, about eight inches long and four wide. It is Negro-forged, of soft iron; the pygmy hunter sharpens it on a stone, until it is razor sharp.

P 224 His technique of hunting is daring and simple, and takes as much skill as that of a Spanish matador. He tracks the elephant, which is not difficult, until he knows from the spoor that he is close to it. When he hears the elephant's bowels rumble, he goes along even more quietly, until he sees the elephant through the underbrush. He then approaches the elephant silently, up wind; he jabs his spear as far as he can into the elephant, gashing the belly just behind the ribs; then he pulls it right out again. The elephant at this point usually turns, and the pygmies say that if you as much as wink at this moment you are a dead pygmy.

The man stands stock still, so the elephant can't see him. Then he goes through a sequence of stab and jump and stand still, as many times as he can. Every time the elephant looks